

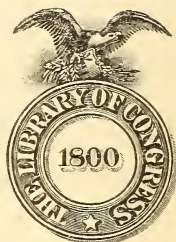
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African Colonization.





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From his Friend
AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

Wm M Blackford

AN ENQUIRY

INTO THE

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ORIGIN, PLAN, & PROSPECTS OF THE AMERICAN

COLONIZATION SOCIETY;

BEING

*An extract from an article in the December number of the American
Quarterly Review, for 1828.*

FREDERICKSBURG:

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My dear Mr. [illegible]

to [illegible]

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AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

THE time is past, when it was necessary to prove the political or the moral evil of the slave trade. We might suppose that no great strength of argument could ever have been requisite to establish its impropriety ; yet, not half a century has elapsed since it was advocated by men of talents and learning, on the floor of the British Parliament, not on the plea of expediency only, but on the ground of its ‘humanity and holiness!’ and the friends of abolition were ‘delighted at the thought that they would soon be able to prove that Providence, in ordaining laws relative to the agency of man, had never made that to be wise which was immoral ; and that the slave trade would be found as impolitic as it was inhuman and unjust ;’ a truth which has, happily, been since demonstrated too clearly to admit a rational doubt. But it was long before this triumph could be obtained over the interests and the prejudices of mankind. The policy and the humanity of the slave trade were maintained by men of the first standing in England ; and it was not until after an arduous struggle of twenty years, during which the friends of humanity suffered repeated disappointments and defeats, that the united talents of Pitt and Fox, and Burke and Wilberforce, could induce the Parliament of England to obey the dictates of humanity and justice, and abolish the trade forever. Such was the slow and laborious progress of the cause in Great Britain.

In this country the evils of slavery were soon felt and acknowledged. The first cargo of slaves was brought to Virginia in the year 1621 : and the legislature of the colony, at an early period, enacted laws to counteract the evil, by imposing restrictions upon their introduction. But these measures were always discountenanced, and the laws rejected by the queen in council as injurious to the commerce and navigation of England ; and slavery, with all its unhappy consequences, was entailed upon the colonies to promote the supposed interests of the mother country. The commencement of our national independence found this dreadful malady deeply rooted in our political system : and circumstances rendered it necessary for the framers of the present constitu-

tion to tolerate the continuance of the slave trade for a limited period ; but, to the honour of our country, the power of prohibition was exercised the moment the restriction imposed by the constitution was removed ; and now, after several prohibitory enactments, every one, in any way engaged in the slave trade, is declared a pirate, subject, upon conviction thereof, to the penalty of death.

It is not our purpose, at present, to enter into any detail of the evils of a coloured population, as it exists in this country ; they are known and acknowledged by all ; and whether we regard the southern states, oppressed by the system of slavery in actual operation, or those overrun by a free coloured population, we must admit, that any plan, which proposes to remove the evil, or even to diminish it, deserves a careful attention, and must be interesting to every division of the country, in proportion to the probability of its success. With these sentiments, we propose to notice the plan of the American Colonization Society—the history of its operation—the feasibility of its projects—and its probable effects upon this country, and upon Africa.

The idea of colonizing our coloured population is not new. So early as the year 1777, a committee, (of which Mr. Jefferson was the head,) appointed by the legislature of Virginia to revise the whole code of laws of the commonwealth, reported, among other important regulations, a bill ‘ to emancipate all slaves born after the passing of the Act ; and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be 18, and the males 21 years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the times should render most proper ; sending them out with arms, implements of household, and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength,’ &c. It is to be regretted that this scheme, suggested by benevolence and patriotism, was never carried into effect. The situation of the country, exhausted by a protracted contest, and drained of her finances, as of her strength, probably prevented its accomplishment. But the plan, tho’ postponed, was never abandoned. The legislature of Virginia passed several resolutions favorable to this project ; and, on the 23d Dec. 1816, the general assembly adopted a formal resolution, requesting ‘ the executive to correspond with the president of the U. States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the north Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the states, or territorial governments of the U. States, to serve as an as-

sylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same ; and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth.' By the same resolution, the senators and representatives of the state, in congress, were requested to exert their best efforts to aid the president of the U. States in the attainment of the above objects. Similar resolutions were adopted by the legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, and the plan of colonization seemed to meet with general favour.

It is doubtful whether Dr. Findlay, of N. Jersey, or Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, be entitled to the honour of having first suggested the formation of a colonization society. Both these gentlemen had given their attention to this matter ; and, in Dec. 1816, they united their efforts to carry their plan into effect. On the 21st of that month, a meeting of several gentlemen, called to consider the subject, was addressed by Mr. Clay, who, though his first impressions were against it, had been convinced of the advantages of the plan, and engaged warmly in the cause, of which he has ever continued one of the steadiest and most zealous supporters. Several others joined in expressing their approbation of the scheme ; a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution ; and soon afterwards, a society was formed, whose only object, as declared in the second article of the constitution, ' is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, (with their own consent,) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.' The original members of this society were principally gentlemen of the southern states ; and Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court, was chosen president. The attention of the society was first directed to the choice of a proper site for the intended colony ; and, for this purpose, two agents were sent to the coast of Africa. Having first visited England, to obtain what information they could, from those interested in the English settlement of Sierra Leone, they sailed from London for that settlement, Feb. 2, 1818. After explaining the object of their coming, every facility was afforded them ; and two intelligent men of that colony, well acquainted with the country, accompanied them down the coast to introduce them to the native chiefs, and act as interpreters in their negotiations for the purchase of lands. From the information they received, they determined upon the island of Sherbro, about 100 miles south of Sierra Leone, as the most eligible situation for the proposed settlement ; and, after visiting several of the ' head men,' or kings, on their way, they arrived at this island and opened a negotiation with King Sherbro, for the purchase of a part of his territory.—The conference was held at Yonie, the royal residence, and accompanied by all the ceremonies usual on such occasions.

The agents waited on the king, whom they found seated in state, under a *cola* tree, surrounded by his council, and attended by his prime minister, Kong Couber ; the presents were displayed, and the object of the visit announced, to obtain lands, for the descendants of Africans, who wished to come from a far country, and settle peaceably in the dominions of King Sherbro. Kong Couber, in the name of his master, made a reply, which, upon the whole, was rather favourable ; but, like his brethren of other cabinets, threw out some hints, and suggested some difficulties, which rendered it impossible to conclude matters at once, and protracted the negotiation a week ; after which, a grand ‘ palaver ’ was held, and it was agreed that the people should have such lands as they wanted, upon their arrival with goods to pay for them. The agents then returned to Sierra Leone, and thence sailed for the U. States, where one of them, Mr. Burgess, arrived Oct. 22, 1818 ; the other, Mr. Mills, whose energy and intelligence had greatly contributed to the success of the mission, died on the passage.

Encouraged by the representations of their surviving agent, the Society determined to lay the foundations of their colony as soon as possible ; and, for this purpose, made great exertions to fit out an expedition immediately. In this they were assisted by the President of the U. States, who, in carrying into effect the Act of Congress of March 3, 1819, determined to unite with the Colonization Society in the promotion of their object. By the 2d section of this Act, the President of the U. States is authorized ‘ to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the U. States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction ; and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, delivered from on board vessels, seized in the prosecution of the slave trade, by commanders of the U. States’ armed vessels.’

In the execution of this authority, Mr. Monroe, then president of the U. States, appointed Mr. Samuel Bacon and Mr. John P. Bankson, to reside on the coast of Africa, as agents of the U. States, with instructions to co-operate with the agents of the Colonization Society ; and, in Feb. 1820, these gentlemen sailed from New York in the *Elizabeth*, a vessel chartered by the Society, and having on board Mr. Crozer, the Society’s agent, and 88 colonists. This first expedition was, in every way, unfortunate. It reached the African coast about the commencement of the rainy season, when the climate is peculiarly unhealthy ; the natives refused to fulfil their contract for the sale of lands ; the three agents,

and twenty of the colonists soon fell victims to the climate ; and the survivors, under the direction of one of their number, Daniel Coker, who proved himself intelligent and very capable of the charge, were obliged to remain on the low grounds of the island of Sherbro, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and altogether in the most forlorn condition. Thus situated, Coker, by the advice of Capt. Wadsworth of the U. States' ship John Adams, who rendered him every assistance in his power, led back his people to Sierra Leone, there to await further instructions from the U. States. In March, 1821, they were joined by a reinforcement of 28 new colonists, under the direction of Messrs. Andrus and Wiltberger, agents of the Society, accompanied by Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon, as agents of the U. States. After providing a temporary residence for the colonists, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, Mr. Andrus and Mr. Bacon went to explore the coast, and fix upon a station for the projected settlement. In the country, called Grand Bassa, a part of the Grain Coast of Guinea, about 300 miles south of Sierra Leone, they found a tract of land, elevated, fertile, healthy, and in every way suited to their purpose. This was Cape Mesurado, or Montserado. The natives seemed very well disposed to receive them, and a negotiation was commenced for the purchase of land ; but it was soon broken off, in consequence of the agents insisting upon the abolition of the slave trade, as a part of the treaty. To this the natives would not agree, the slave trade being their principal medium of communication with European and American traders, and their only means of procuring foreign luxuries. Failing in this, the agents refused to make any contract, and returned to Sierra Leone, where Mr. Andrus and Mr. Winn soon after died ; and Mr. Bacon returned to the U. States, leaving the colonists under the charge of Mr. Wiltberger. Thus far, the affairs of the colony wore but a gloomy aspect, and some of its friends might be tempted to despair of ultimate success : but there were still found zealous and able supporters of the noble cause, and Providence seemed at length to smile on their exertions.

In the fall of that year, (1821,) the Society appointed a new agent, Dr. Ayres, who immediately repaired to Sierra Leone : and there being joined by Lt. Stockton, in the U. S. schooner Alligator, he proceeded with that active officer ; who has always manifested a sincere interest in the cause of colonization, to endeavour to effect the purchase of Cape Mesurado.

Upon their arrival there, a negotiation was opened with King Peter, the sable monarch of that part of the coast, which, after considerable difficulty and delay, on the part of his majesty and his allies, finally terminated by the agents obtain-

ing the royal permission to 'make a book,' which would give him the land. The 'book' was accordingly made, which was a regular deed, signed by Dr. Ayres and Lt. Stockton, on the one part, and King Peter, together with five other native chiefs, on the other; by which they agreed, in consideration of about \$300, to give the strangers a tract of country, which was sufficient to answer all the immediate wants of the colony.

But all difficulty was not yet ended. When Dr. Ayres returned with the colonists from Sierra Leone, he found that some of the neighbouring chiefs, who had not been consulted, were dissatisfied with the bargain, which had been made without their concurrence, and threatened King Peter with death, if he did not annul the contract. Accordingly, his majesty, in great trepidation, begged Dr. Ayres to take back the goods, and relinquish his purchase; which he positively refused to do, insisting upon his right to retain the land which he had fairly bought. After some further negotiation, in which Dr. Ayres displayed great coolness and decision, the natives yielded the point, and agreed to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, the settlers had been busily engaged in erecting houses, and providing for their immediate necessities. They had been thus occupied but a few weeks, when another danger threatened their destruction.

A British vessel, containing some recaptured Africans, stopping to water at the Cape, parted her cable, and was driven ashore. A French slaver was, at the time, hovering on the coast, waiting for a cargo; and this, joined to the almost universal principle of 'wrecker's law,' induced the natives to attempt to secure the prize. Several of the colonists engaged in her defence, and, in the contest that ensued, which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were killed; and, on the following day, a British soldier, and one of the colonists, shared the same fate. These events produced a great excitement among the natives; a grand palaver was held, at which a large number of chiefs were assembled; and the impending danger was only averted by the efforts of Dr. Ayres, who again succeeded in calming the natives, and preventing their committing any violence upon the colony. Notwithstanding his success in this crisis, the situation of the settlers at this time, owing 'to the commencement of the rains, the unexpected difficulty in building, and the impossibility of obtaining native labour, on account of the recent disturbances,' was so distressing that Dr. Ayres determined to visit the U. States to acquaint the Society with the necessities of the colony, and obtain supplies for its relief. Before his departure, he offered to remove the colonists to Sierra Leone until his return, but they preferred remaining on their hard-earned territory, under the di-

rection of one of the most respectable of their own number, whom Dr. Ayres appointed to the trust. Dr. Ayres sailed for this country the 4th of June, 1822, leaving the emigrants in quiet possession of their settlement, but in great want of stores of all kinds.

On the 19th June, the brig Strong sailed from Baltimore, having on board Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, and 35 colonists, and arrived at Montserado 8th Aug. Mr. A. was charged with the management of certain re-captured Africans, and also received authority to act as temporary agent of the Board. On his arrival, finding that both the agents were absent, he assumed, according to his instructions, the office of principal agent, and immediately entered upon the active performance of its duties. After discharging the brig, he visited the most considerable kings in the neighbourhood, with whom he established a friendly intercourse; assuring them of the amicable disposition of the colonists, and receiving from them, apparently sincere professions of good will, in return; many of them sending their sons to the colony to be instructed in the English language, and the arts of civilized life.

But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, Mr. Ashmun thought he discovered symptoms of secret hostility, and therefore used every exertion to prepare the settlers for any attack that might be made upon them; a precaution which the sequel proved to have been highly necessary; for scarcely was the town, by constant labour, put in a tolerable state of defence, when the enmity of the natives broke out into open violence. Many of the chiefs had been dissatisfied with the permission given to the strangers to settle in their country, and their dissatisfaction had been increased, by the evidence already given by the colonists, of their opposition to the slave trade. These feelings had nearly impelled them to open hostility, after their repulse from the English vessel in the spring. Matters, however, had then been arranged, and the presence of some vessels in the harbour, had prevented them from coming to an open rupture. But a favourable opportunity seemed at length to have arrived; both the former agents had left the settlement, from fear, as they supposed; the new agent was sick, the few settlers that remained, were in a destitute situation, and every thing seemed to invite an attack.

The first assault was made by about 800 men, who were repulsed after a short conflict; with a loss of four killed, and as many wounded on the part of the colonists. Two weeks afterwards, the natives made another attack, with double their former numbers, and were again repulsed, with great loss, after a very severe engagement. By this second defeat, the spirits of the assailants were so completely broken, that they did not make another attempt upon the settlement; and

this exertion of the strength of the infant colony, though distressing in its immediate effects, had the beneficial result of inspiring the settlers with a confidence in their ability to maintain their position ; and impressing upon the natives a sense of inferiority, which has prevented further molestation.

Since this period, the colony has been constantly improving, without any interruption, or impediment, other than those, necessarily incident to the progress of a new settlement, in such a situation. Soon after the restoration of tranquillity, Dr. Ayres arrived, with a reinforcement of 61 new emigrants, and a supply of stores ; but after devoting himself with great assiduity to the promotion of the interests of the colony, he was obliged, by the state of his health, to leave it in Dec'r, 1823, and resign the charge of its superintendence to Mr. Ashmun, who continued, until the time of his death, the principal colonial agent of the Society.

Our limits do not permit us to give a detailed history of the colony ; nor is it necessary. Since the attack of the natives above-mentioned, the settlers have enjoyed uninterrupted peace ; and the incidents attending their gradual progress, though highly important to those immediately concerned, are not of a nature to interest persons at a distance. We shall, therefore, only notice a few of the most striking occurrences.

Although it may not, strictly speaking, be a part of the history of the settlement, we may mention here, that at the 7th annual meeting of the Society, held Feb. 20th, 1824, the territory and settlement of the Society, near Cape Montserado, was named **LIBERIA** ; and the town laid out, and established at the Cape, **MONROVIA** ; 'as an acknowledgement of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the illustrious chief magistrate of the United States.'

What most attracts our notice, in the history of the colony, is the policy pursued towards the native tribes in its vicinity. In all his intercourse with them, the Agent (we speak of Mr. Ashmun, who had the principal management of these affairs,) endeavoured to cultivate their good will and affection, by maintaining the strictest justice in all his dealings, and shewing them the advantages they may derive from the establishment of the colony. Like the illustrious founder of **Pennsylvania**, he purchased from its natural owners the territory he occupied, and not an acre of ground was taken without a fair equivalent. In the spring of 1825, it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the settlement. Several emigrants arrived about that time, who had been accustomed to agricultural life. Some of these requested permission to settle upon plantations at once, instead of being confined to the town ; and as there was little danger to be apprehended from their removal to a short distance, the agent deter-

mined to grant their request; and immediately entered into a negotiation with the neighbouring tribes, for the purchase of the necessary land.

The tract selected for this purpose, is situated on the St. Paul's river, comprehending a breadth of from one to three leagues; and lying along the whole navigable part of the stream, estimated at about 20 miles. The whole was under the jurisdiction of old king Peter, from whom it was purchased; and formal possession was taken for the American Colonization Society.

The advantages of this acquisition of territory, are stated by the agent, to consist in enabling the settlers to live on their plantations, instead of being in town, at a distance from them, as before; in giving them a much more fertile soil, and so enabling them to support themselves and families in a short time after their arrival in the country; in rendering the agricultural part of the settlement more compact, in securing the trade of the St. Paul's River, and gaining a more salubrious situation; in all which particulars, the agent's anticipations have been realized. Several important additions have been since made to the territory of the colony; and the Board, in their last report, mention, with approbation, the exertions of the agent in relation to this matter. The possessions of the Society now extend nearly *one hundred and fifty miles* along the coast; and to a considerable distance into the interior. No less than *eight stations* from Cape Mount to Trade Town, 140 miles, are now under the government of the Colony, and four of these have been acquired during the last year.'

These 'stations' are small settlements, established upon the newly purchased land, at the request of the neighbouring chiefs, who are very desirous of having the advantage of their trade; and generally agree to construct factories, and other necessary buildings for their accommodation. This extension of the settlement, and the intercourse with the natives to which it gives rise, increase the influence of the Colony; which, resulting as it does, from the integrity and kindness manifested toward them, may be expected to be permanent. They see the advantages of civilized life, and are desirous to partake of them. 'No man of the least consideration in the country,' says Mr. Ashmun, 'will desist from his importunities, until one, at least, of his sons is fixed in some settler's family. We have their confidence and friendship; and these, built on the fullest conviction that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other.'

The influence thus acquired is sacredly devoted to the security of the Colony, and the benefit of the natives. The agent has always avoided having any thing to do with the disputes of his neighbours, further than to afford his friendly

offices as mediator ; and, on a late occasion, when two of the most considerable tribes were at war with each other, and each solicited the aid of the colony, with the promises of territory and submission, Mr. Ashmun, having tried in vain to prevent hostilities, positively refused to take part with either ; telling them, that ‘ the whole force of the Colony was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone, against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled ; that while they were ready to benefit *all* their neighbours, they would injure *none* ; and that if they could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, they should never take part in them.’

By the Constitution, ‘ for the government of the African colony at Liberia,’ all persons born in the colony, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the U. States. The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit, for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their agents, and leave the settlers to govern themselves ; there shall be no slavery in the settlement ; and the common law, as in force, and modified in the U. States, and applicable to the situation of the people, shall be in force in Liberia. Under this Constitution, the agents, in August, 1824, adopted a ‘ plan for the civil government of Liberia,’ and framed a digest of laws, (which have since been approved and ratified by the Board,) for the permanent regulation of the Colony.

The principal provisions of the ‘ plan of government,’ are, that the agent of the Society shall possess, in the settlement, sovereign power, subject only to the decisions of the Board ; that a vice-agent shall be appointed by the agent, out of three persons chosen by the colonists, who shall aid the agent in the discharge of his duties, and take his place, in case of his absence or sickness ; that the judiciary shall consist of the agent, and two justices of the peace, created by his appointment ; the choice of other officers is made by the colonists, subject to the approbation or rejection of the agent ; and standing committees, of agriculture—of public works—of colonial militia—and of health, are appointed, whose duty it is ‘ to become familiar with all the subjects relating to their appointments, and be ready, at all times, to meet, consult, and report thereon, when required to do so by the agent.’

The common law being adopted, so far as suited to the circumstances of the Colony, it was only necessary to enact laws relating to the peculiar situation of the new settlement ; regulating their intercourse with the native tribes in their vicinity, designating offences, and prescribing appropriate punishments. The punishments prescribed, are, fine, imprisonment, standing in the stocks, whipping, labour on the public works, forfeiture of rations, (to those receiving them,)

and expulsion from the colony; which last, is the highest degree of punishment, and is inflicted 'on conviction for offences directly affecting the peace and good government of the Colony; and when ordered by the Society, for any misdemeanors in their judgment deserving that penalty. The property of exiles to pass to their next heirs resident in the colony. In all cases of banishment, when the banished person has no heir in the colony, the land held by him shall revert to the colony. The party, in any judicial trial, is entitled, if he desire it, to trial by jury.'

This system went into immediate operation, and is mentioned with approbation by the Board, in their 9th annual report. Two years afterwards, at the last annual meeting, the managers notice, in their report, the 'very efficient and satisfactory manner' in which the system continues to operate, and quote from a letter of Mr. Ashmun, who says, 'we commence the year with a better prospect of harmony, in the different operations of our little civil machine, than ever before. The principles of social order, and of a good, equitable, and energetic government, are deeply and plentifully implanted in the minds of the influential part, if not of a majority of the colonists, and promise the certain arrival, (I do not think it will be early, however,) of that state of improvement, when the Board can safely withdraw their agents, and leave the people to the government of themselves.'

The moral and religious character of the colony, is such as to be highly gratifying to its friends; and exerts a powerful and salutary influence on its social and civil condition. Owing to the circumstances under which the first expeditions were fitted out, the characters of the individuals composing them, were not sufficiently attended to; and many were found among them, who, by their bad conduct, did serious injury to the new settlement. But, for several years past, the Board, always having more applicants for emigration than their means would enable them to transport, have been particular, in selecting such only as would form a desirable addition to the settlers; and the good effects of this system are visible in the improved character of the Colony. Most of the late emigrants had established their reputation for industry, sobriety, and morality, in this country, and were distinguished for their respectability among those of their own station in society. They were induced to emigrate, by a laudable desire to improve their condition, by the acquisition of privileges they might in vain hope for here: and they went to Africa with a full knowledge of the difficulties they were to encounter. Their trial was a severe one; and, it is not strange that some should have sunk under it; but, most of them sustained it unshaken; and the agent very justly attributes the general prosperity of the settlement to the salutary

influence of their conduct. 'It deserves record,' says Mr. Ashmun, 'that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government.' Hence, the general character of the colony is in the highest degree orderly—'crimes are almost unknown; and the universal respect manifested for the sabbath, and the various institutions and duties of Christianity, has struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners.'

The agent was fully aware of the importance of education, and fostered it by every means in his power. Several schools have been established, in which the colonists and about fifty native children receive instruction. Their education is, of course, confined to the elementary branches of knowledge; but they shew themselves very capable of learning; and, there is no doubt, that with proper advantages, they will attain all the useful, and even ornamental, departments of science. At present, they feel the want of teachers capable of instructing them in any thing beyond the rudiments of learning. The library of the colony contains about 1200 volumes.

Since the late purchases of land, the colonists have begun to turn their attention more to agriculture; but, the trade of the Colony, which is considerable, has been its chief dependence. By the treaties entered into with the natives, the greater part of the trade of that district of Africa is secured to the inhabitants of Liberia. The articles of export are the productions of the country; consisting of rice, palm-oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dyewoods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee: there are almost always some vessels in the harbour; and 'the bustle and thronging of the streets, shew something already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the U. States.' By means of this commerce, many of the settlers have acquired a considerable property; and enjoy an abundance, not only of the necessities, but of the comforts, and even the luxuries of life. The intercourse between Monrovia and the other settlements in Liberia, is so considerable, that the nett annual profits of a small schooner, employed by the agent for this purpose, amounted to \$4700, 'nearly adequate to defray the expense of the whole organization for the public service, both for the U. States agency and the colonial government.' After speaking of the prospects of the colony, the agent says, 'but I can even now assure the Board, that except a very few of the emigrants, the most independent and easy in their circumstances in America, they generally live in a style of neatness and comfort, approaching to elegance in many instances, unknown before their arrival in this country. An interesting family,

12 months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing a comfortable table, is not known ; and, an *individual*, of whatever sex or age, without ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, I believe, be found.' And again : 'every family, and nearly every single adult person in the colony has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from 4 to \$6 a month. And several of the settlers, when called upon, in consequence of sudden emergencies of public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to \$600 each.'

In their last report, the managers state that the population of the colony, (including emigrants by recent expeditions,) exceeds 1200 persons ;* of whom about 500 were introduced during the last year. Of these, 142 re-captured Africans, liberated by a decree of the Supreme Court, and sent to the agency in Liberia, arrived in the ship Norfolk, on the 27th Aug. 1827. In a letter written 7 days after their arrival, Mr. Ashmun says, 'it may be interesting to the Board, as a proof of the extensive business and resources of their colony, to observe that not more than 20 remain, even at this early date, a charge to the U. States. Two-thirds of the number have situations in the families of the older settlers, for terms of from 1 to 3 years ; the remainder are at service, on wages to be paid them at the year's end ;' after which, they were to have lands assigned them as other settlers. The report further states, (p. 38,) that '3 new fortifications, and 13 public buildings, exclusive of the churches, are either completed already, or so far advanced as to authorise the expectation that they will be finished in the course of the year.' Some opinion may be formed of the enterprising spirit of the colonists from the fact that they have already organized a company to improve the navigation of the Montserado River, by removing the bars which obstruct it, and some progress has been made in the work.

So far, then, the object of the Society has been accomplished, by establishing on the coast of Africa, a colony of 'free people of colour,' composed of several hundred individuals, enjoying perfect security, possessing abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, or the means of obtaining them, and in the full exercise of all the rights and privileges of freemen. That many difficulties have been encountered, and many lives lost in the attainment of this object, is not to be denied ; but when we consider the principles upon which this colony has been founded, and the circumstances under which the operations of the Society have been carried on, our wonder is, not that *so little*, but that *so much* has been effected. In the language of the Society's memorial to Congress : 'In the course of a few short years, a small number

* The present number is about 1400.

of respectable individuals, actuated only by the most philanthropic motives, possessing no political power, and destitute of all pecuniary resources, except such as were to be found in the charity, the benevolence, and the patriotism of their fellow-citizens, have succeeded in exploring a distant coast, in overcoming, in a great measure, the very natural, but very powerful prejudices of the community in which they live, and in transplanting to the western shores of Africa, and maintaining in a state of perfect security, a colony of several hundred of the free coloured population of their country.'

That the infant colony should have great difficulties to encounter, was to be expected. But they have been met and overcome; and the Society justly acknowledge the powerful aid of a gracious Providence, in the wonderful success which has attended their exertions. In no instance have such results been produced in so short a time under similar disadvantages. The early settlements of our own country, which approach nearest in character to that of Liberia, were persevered in, under far more discouraging circumstances, and were only established after many years of incessant labour, and great expenditure of life and treasure.

Their history presents a series of incessant labours and almost incredible distresses. Torn by internal feuds, in want of every necessary, & exposed to frequent attacks by the savages, the colony of Virginia was several times almost extinct, & barely maintained a feeble existence, by foreign supplies occasionally afforded; and, in the year 1624, after more than £150,000 had been expended, and more than 9,000 persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed 1800 persons. Mr. Jefferson, in his 'Notes on the State of Virginia,' (p. 163,) gives a table of the increase of the population during the early years of the colony, commencing with 1607; by which it appears, that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 400, and again sinking to 60, the whole number, in 1618, (the 11th year of the settlement,) was only 600.

We have thus alluded to the early history of the settlements in America, because a comparison between them and the settlement at Liberia shews that there is nothing at which the friends of African colonization should be disheartened. On the contrary, such a comparison holds out every encouragement: less expense has been incurred, fewer difficulties have been encountered, fewer lives sacrificed, and more has been effected. A colony has been established, which, *now, in its eighth year*, contains more than 1200 inhabitants, enjoying health, liberty, and plenty; and commanding the respect and confidence of their neighbours. The colony being established, the only question is, whether it can be maintained? And this we purpose briefly to consider.

The first and great difficulty lies in the supposed insalubrity of the climate, and the fatality which is generally attributed to it. But, the prevalent opinion on this subject, arises from prejudice, or want of reflection. We are apt to imagine, that, because the climate of Africa is different from that to which we have been accustomed, it must necessarily be unhealthy; but this is clearly erroneous; and, if generally acted upon, would prevent any change of residence. The climate of Liberia, like that of all other tropical situations, is exceedingly warm, and unfriendly to constitutions formed in more temperate regions. But it does not, therefore, follow, that it is unfitted to sustain human life, where there is a congeniality of constitution. Accordingly, we find that the natives of the country are a robust, healthy race, subject to no epidemic disease; and, of the emigrants who have gone from this country, those from the southern states have suffered but little by the change of climate. Early last year, the brig *Doris* carried out a considerable number of emigrants from N. Carolina, who arrived at Liberia in April, and, in noticing their sickness, in his communication to the Board, Mr. Ashmun observes, ‘all the change they have undergone, seems to be less a *disease* than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the new influences of the tropical climate.’ It is true, many have died soon after their arrival; but, it was under peculiar circumstances, and such as are not likely again to occur. The first settlement, on the low marshy ground of the Sherbro, was unfortunate, and very properly abandoned. The early settlers at Montserado, arrived at an improper time of the year, and were exposed to all the inclemencies of the rainy season, without sufficient houses to protect them. Add to this, the excessive fatigue they underwent in preparing for their defence against the natives; and it is not wonderful that many fell victims to disease. But, since the erection of suitable houses, and the release from incessant labour, the general health of the colony has been good, and the emigrants who have arrived at proper seasons of the year, have been exposed to but little danger.

Dr. Peaco, who resided some time at Liberia, as United States’ agent for recaptured Africans, says, in a letter addressed to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society: ‘Persons of every description, from all parts of the world, are liable to an attack of bilious fever, shortly after their arrival; which I found, in every instance, to yield to the common remedies in the first attack; and, all the deaths which occurred, were from relapses, occasioned by imprudently exposing themselves, while in a state of convalescence; but few cases terminated fatally, from among those who left Norfolk last winter; and but one of the people of colour, from N. Carolina.

who accompanied me out, fell a victim to the prevailing diseases of the climate.'

In the month of September last, the colonists addressed a circular to the coloured people of this country, giving an interesting exposition of the state of the colony, and one highly gratifying to its patrons and friends. On the subject of health, they say :

'The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony ; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and, in the cases of old people and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them ; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slightest sickness that may await them ; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency, which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony.'

Another objection to the practicability of maintaining the colony, is founded on the supposed barrenness of the soil, and the consequent necessity of depending on foreign supplies for subsistence. The very name of Africa is associated, in our imagination, with all that is desolate and frightful—immense deserts of burning sand, whose dreadful masses, carried along by the whirlwind, overwhelm the parched traveller, and thus hasten the fate he would otherwise have suffered from thirst ; and trackless wastes, inhabited only by beasts of prey and venomous reptiles ; with no water to refresh the sultry atmosphere, and no vegetation to relieve the dreary prospect. We are confirmed in this idea, by the common maps, which present to our view an immense continent, coloured, to denote occupancy, along the coast, but the interior, one vast blank, which we consider a desert ; and, by our classic recollections, which remind us of the fate of Cambyses' army, or the difficulties of Alexander's march to the shrine of his pretended father ; and represent all beyond the northern coast, as 'the uninhabitable regions.' But the dis-

coveries of modern travellers have proved the fallacy of these impressions. It is true, that the Desert of Sahara is a vast expanse of sand, where thousands have perished of fatigue and thirst; and the journals of scientific explorers have furnished us with abundance of frightful pictures of its horrors. But this is only a part, and comparatively a small part of the great continent of Africa. Beyond these sands, Africa furnishes a soil as fertile, and produces a vegetation as luxuriant as any in the world. Its boundless forests, and beautiful fields, are watered by noble rivers, and abound in all the productions of tropical climates. Of this character is the territory of Liberia. 'The whole country, between Cape Mount and Trade Town,' observes Mr. Ashmun, 'is rich in soil, and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population, beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the seaboard, the traveller, every where, at the distance of a few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailing water, and covered with a verdure, which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found every where to yield, in both respects, to the interior.' The vegetable productions of Liberia, are coffee, cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, rice, Guinea-corn, millet, and every variety of fruits and *legumes*. Most of these are the spontaneous productions of the soil, and all of them may be cultivated with little labour. Coffee, of a good quality, grows wild in great abundance, and is collected and sold by the natives for about five cents a pound: with due attention, it will become a staple commodity for exportation. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive exceedingly well, and require 'no other care than to keep them from starving.' Even in the present state of the country, when but little attention has been bestowed upon agriculture, provisions can be purchased very cheap. 'Fine cattle may be bought, at a little distance from the colony, at from 3 to \$6 a head; rice, of the best quality, for less than a dollar the bushel; and palm oil, answering all the purposes of butter and lard, for culinary purposes, at 20 cts. per gallon, equal in cookery to 6 lbs. of butter.' Add to all this, there is no dreary winter, 'for one half the year to consume the productions of the other half.'

Possessing thus, a good climate, and a fertile soil, there is nothing to impede the growth of the colony, even if it receive no further accession from this country. At peace with the natives, and capable of defending itself against any attacks they may make, it has nothing to apprehend from that quarter; and there is little danger of any foreign aggression.—

The climate, though perfectly salubrious to the natives, and to the coloured emigrants who are habituated to it, is ill adapted to the constitution of the Circassian race of our species; and neither Europeans nor Americans have been able to become *acclimated* there; so that it would seem that Providence has specially appropriated this portion of the world to the original inhabitants, and their descendants. This circumstance will effectually prevent the danger that might otherwise arise from European settlements in the neighbourhood. But its progress is not to be limited to the natural increase. Every year enlarges its capacity for receiving new emigrants with advantage, and renders their first settlement in the colony more safe and easy. It has been supposed by some, that persons cannot be found willing to go; but this is not the fact. There are hundreds desirous, and ready to emigrate; and many more would be liberated for the purpose, were the Society possessed of the means of transporting them. Last year there was as great an accession of new settlers as could be conveniently accommodated in the present circumstances of the colony. But as the settlements increase, so that the new comers may be distributed over a wider space, thousands can be as readily accommodated, as hundreds were last year, and any number may be received without inconvenience. Although the expense of transportation is not great, averaging about \$25 for each person, the funds of the Society have not enabled them to accomplish more than they have already done. But the cause is gaining ground in this country; and is no longer considered as a mere chimera. The Society has advocates in every part of the union; and the prejudices formerly entertained against it, are gradually disappearing before the influence of facts. The legislatures of nine states* have adopted resolutions, approving of the design of the Colonization Society; and the General Assembly of Maryland, in March, 1827, passed an Act, directing \$1000 to be paid annually, to the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, to 'be expended for the benefit of the free people of colour who have been actual residents of that state for twelve months previous to their embarkation.' The number of auxiliary societies, in different parts of the union, amounted, at the time of the last annual meeting, to 96; 16 of which, had been formed during the preceding year. A gentleman in the state of N. York has made a donation of \$100 to the Society, and offered to increase it to a thousand, payable in ten annual instalments, provided 100 individuals will contribute in the same manner. His example has already been followed

*Georgia, Virginia, N. Jersey, Connecticut, Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland. It is believed that the states of Delaware, Rhode Island, and Illinois, have adopted similar resolutions

by several others, and the Society is not without hope that the whole number will be completed. The funds of the Society, though increasing, are still inadequate to meet the demands upon them : and the Board have applied to Congress for assistance. As a national object, proposing to remove, or at least to alleviate a great national evil, it certainly deserves the attention of the general government. Whether it would be politic in the government, or beneficial to the colony, to take the settlement under the immediate protection of the U. States, may admit of some doubt ; but there can scarcely be a doubt of the propriety of employing a portion of the public treasure in the promotion of the views of the Society, if there is a fair prospect of success. Much has already been done by the establishment of the U. States' agency at Liberia, and the instructions given to the commanders of the public vessels, who have rendered very essential service to the colony. Much more might be effected if the government would contribute to increase the funds of the Society.

It is the opinion of some, that the negro race can never be capable of conducting the affairs of empire. But, in forming our estimate of their mental qualifications, great allowance should be made for prejudice, and the circumstances in which we have seen them ; without education, or any means of intellectual improvement. When raised from their present degraded condition, and properly educated, there is no reason to suppose that they will be incapable of self-government. They are men ; and it is a libel on the species, to deny them the capacity requisite to manage their own affairs. Not to mention the rude governments of Africa, equal, at least, to those of other people, at the same stage of civilization ; the existence of the Haytien republic furnishes an instance of the capacity of negroes to manage the political machine ; and that too, in circumstances of great difficulty, and under every disadvantage. Some of the leaders of that state have evinced talents of no ordinary degree, and if Petion and Christophe were guilty of cruel and ferocious acts, they also exhibited energy and skill, fully adequate to maintain and defend their government. There is therefore no good reason to doubt, that, with proper education, the citizens of Liberia, will, in due time, be perfectly competent to take care of themselves ; and that with the cultivation of their present moral and religious principles, they will establish a happy and flourishing commonwealth.

We proposed, in the last place, to consider the probable effects of the establishment of the colony ; and first, as it regards this country.

We shall not dwell upon the commercial advantage of having friendly ports for our vessels to stop at, on their way to and from India ; nor upon the still greater advantage of ha-

ving a constantly increasing market for our manufactures of every description, from which we may receive in return, gold, ivory, precious and fragrant gums, drugs, and all the various productions of the torrid zone. These, and similar ones, suggest themselves as the almost certain consequence of the success of the Liberian Colony. Nor is it a trifling political object to have our language, and the principles of our government, extended over a large territory in the continent of Africa, as will, in all likelihood be the case, if the colony prosper. Less flattering prospects have induced the powers of Europe to found distant colonies, at great labour and expense; but these, although probable results, are not the primary objects of the settlement of Liberia.

The great object of the Society, so far as regards this country, is the diminution of the black population; the alleviation, and, if possible, the entire removal of the curse of slavery, and the evil of having among us a distinct race of people, who can never be thoroughly amalgamated with the white population, and who must always have separate interests from ourselves. This is not a local disease, affecting only particular members of the political system: for, not to mention the intimate connection of the different sections of our country, and the interests of all, to promote the welfare of each part, it must be obvious, on the slightest examination, that the evil of a coloured population pervades the whole, and is felt in each separate portion. We need not speak of the immediate effects of slavery in those states where it exists; they are acknowledged by all to be grievous; but, throughout the non-slave-holding states, the negroes form a distinct race, branded by their colour, as an inferior caste; regarded with a species of loathing when thought of as companions, and forever shut out from the privileges of the white men by whom they are surrounded. Be it prejudice, or be it founded in reason, the feeling exists; and the warmest friend of the cause of abolition would shrink with disgust from the idea of a matrimonial connexion between his children and this unfortunate people. No matter what may be their industry and sobriety; no matter what their attainments in science, or their character for morality, they can never hope to pass the broad line of demarkation, or assume a station of equality with the other members of the community. If by habits of industry and correct deportment a few individuals rise above their degraded brethren, their condition is scarcely improved. Conscious of their superiority to those of their own colour, by whom they are envied, they can find no satisfaction in their society; while they are shunned and despised by the meanest of the whites, perhaps far inferior to them, in every particular, save *colour*: and if they have brought up children, to whom they have given the benefit

of education, there is little chance of their finding suitable companions among their own people. To unite them to respectable whites, is impossible. Thus destitute of all the advantages, while they possess the name of freemen; deprived of every incentive to virtuous exertion, and exposed to every temptation to vice, it is no wonder that they are degraded and miserable. Nor does the future offer any prospect of amendment in their condition. To them the volume of time, like the roll of the prophet, reveals only 'lamentations, and mourning, and wo.'

The natural consequence of this deplorable state of things, is seen and felt in our large cities, and, in a degree, throughout the country. We have an idle, ignorant, vicious population, crowded together in their wretched hovels, with scarcely the means of procuring a scanty subsistence. Naturally improvident, and without moral restraint, they are driven to crime to satisfy the cravings of want, and readily become the tenants of the alms-house, or the jail. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and presented to the legislature of that state, at their last session, it is stated, that, of the whole population of Pennsylvania, which is estimated at 1,200,000, about 40,000, or one-thirtieth, are people of colour: and the following statement, taken from the records of the state penitentiary, is then given:

'In 1826, of 236 persons convicted, and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured; being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the state, there would have been but 6, instead of 117. The average of the last 7 years proves a similar disproportion.'

The proportion of coloured paupers, maintained at the public expense, is also enormous. Nor is this state of things confined to Pennsylvania: it is found in all the states, tho' perhaps not always to the same extent; but wherever there is a black population, this evil exists in some degree, and is constantly increasing. Without entering into the calculations on this subject, for which we refer those desirous of seeing them, to the annual reports of the Society, and the statements annexed to them, we may state some of the general results. The whole coloured population of the U. States is estimated at about 2,000,000, and they are supposed to increase in nearly the same ratio as the whites, or to double in 30 years. In 30 years from this time, then, there will be 4 millions of negroes in the country; and, in 60 years, eight millions! A nation of 8,000,000 of degraded, despised, oppressed beings! And to this accelerated progress, there is no limit. The barbarous scheme of Pharaoh, if practicable, would alone retard it. But, from this, our feelings as men, and as Christians, revolt with horror. What, then, is to be

done? We would fain indulge the hope, that this dreadful curse will one day be removed; and that, when we speak of the millions who inhabit our land, we may add with pride, *they are all freemen*. We know not how it may be with others, but for ourselves, we see no human means by which this can be accomplished, unless it be by colonization; and, if ever the work is to be commenced, it cannot be done under more favourable auspices than at the present period. It is, at least, worth the experiment; and now is the best time for making it. The American Colonization Society have undertaken to lead the way; they have founded a colony on the coast of Africa; and it only requires the encouragement of an enlightened country, to give the plan a fair trial. If it succeed, the benefit to our country will be incalculable; if it fail, the pious and patriotic men who have made the attempt, have done their duty; and we must submit, with resignation, to the unavoidable calamity. But there is yet hope; and while any thing remains untried, no effort should be spared. It is true, the work is immense, and the means of the Society are small—confessedly inadequate to the accomplishment of the project. But the Society never pretended to be able to carry through this great enterprise. They have acted only as pioneers in the work. All they could expect to do, was 'merely to pave the way, to point out the track,' and call upon the nation to follow.

Even with the assistance of government, there are many difficulties; and the final attainment of the object must be remote: but the difficulties are not insuperable; and the remoteness of the desirable event should be no objection. It is to be recollected that this matter affects the vital interest of the republic; and, if a century or more is required to complete it, this time, in the age of a nation, is soon passed. Individuals commence works which they can scarcely expect to see finished; and surely a great national undertaking is not to be left unattempted, because the present generation may not witness its completion. But the benefits of colonization are not to be referred to a remote period; they commence immediately—they are already felt; and every year, as it extends the operation of the plan, will increase its beneficial effects, and facilitate its final accomplishment. Each state, like Maryland, may take advantage of this measure, and remove the coloured population within its own borders; and those states which have heretofore been obliged to forbid emancipation, will have no longer cause for apprehension, when the slave can be removed as soon as he is liberated.—Many gentlemen of the south have expressed their willingness to emancipate their slaves, if the Society would take charge of them; and this feeling will, no doubt, increase, if adequate means for its exercise be afforded. In some of the

states the education of slaves is forbidden by law ; and, in most of them, the advantages of instruction are in a great measure withheld from the people of colour. In their present situation, this may be necessary ; but if the means of their removal from the country were provided, their education might be encouraged with safety, in the assurance, that the more enlightened they become, the more desirous they will be to embrace this opportunity of improving their condition. Many of the better class of our coloured population still regard the colony with suspicion, and distrust the benevolent intentions of its founders ; but, when they know that there is a nation of their brethren on the coast of Africa, in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of freedom and rational equality, their prejudices will yield to conviction, and they will be glad to enrol themselves among the citizens of Liberia. Instead of being looked upon, as it now is, by too many, as a receptacle of slaves and discontented free negroes, it will be regarded in its true light, as the appropriate home of the coloured man—the only place where he may employ his faculties to their full extent, and assert the dignity of his nature, as a man, and a free-man. The number of emigrants to this country, from Great Britain and Ireland, during the year 1827, was 23,000 ; and the number this year, will probably be as great, or greater. If such multitudes leave their homes, and come to a foreign land to procure employment and support, the same motives, with all the additional reasons the peculiarity of their situation suggests, will induce the coloured people of this country to emigrate to Africa, when assured, that, by so doing, they will certainly improve their condition. The annual increase of our whole coloured population is estimated at 52,000 ; to remove any portion of this would be an advantage : to remove the whole, would prevent the growth of the evil ; and every thing beyond this, would tend to its eradication.

Such are some of the motives which may induce the patriot to further the views of the Colonization Society ; the philanthropist and the Christian will find ample room for the exercise of their benevolence, in the blessings to be conferred upon the emigrants, and upon the continent of Africa. As to the emigrants, it is only necessary to compare their miserable state here, with their situation in Africa, to be sensible of the great improvement in their condition. In the circular from which we have already quoted, and to which, as published in the appendix of the 11th annual report, we refer our readers, the colonists, after stating the object of their emigration to be the enjoyment of real liberty, say :—

‘ Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the U. States ; and these rights and these privileges are ours.

We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own; they grew out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. * * * * Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country at our disposal, we know nothing of that debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of the foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God, and our American patrons, for the happy change which has taken place in our situation.'

And again, after enumerating the advantages they possess: 'Truly we have a goodly heritage: and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But, from these evils, we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He, who knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted by his Providence to this shore.'

But we hasten to make a few observations upon the benefits likely to accrue to Africa, generally, from the establishment of this colony on its shores. In doing this, we pass by many important particulars; such as the exploration of the country—the introduction of our manufactures, &c. and confine our attention to the probable effect of the colony in abolishing the slave trade, and civilizing the native tribes.

To suppress the slave trade, has been for several years an object of national policy with several governments, both in Europe and America. It has been interdicted by solemn treaties, and proscribed by the laws of individual states.—The most despotic, and the most democratic governments, have joined in denouncing it. Austria and Colombia have proclaimed 'universal emancipation;' while Great Britain and the U. States have exerted their naval force in attempting the extermination of this infamous trade. But still it exists; and not only exists, but flourishes nearly as much as ever. The reports of the African Institution, present a detailed list of the names of 218 vessels, believed to be engaged

in this trade, in the year 1824; and the number of its victims in that year, was ascertained to be not less than 120,000¹ of whom, about 20,000 perished on the middle passage, or soon after their arrival at the port of their destination. 'More than 20,000 reached in that year the single port of Rio Janeiro,' as appears by an official document, received from that place.—It would seem that the following importations of slaves were made into that port, in 1826 and 1827:—1826, landed alive, 35,966—died on passage, 1985; 1827, landed alive, 41,388—died on passage, 1643. We attempt no description of this inhuman traffic. The barbarous cruelties which attend every step of its progress, from its commencement in treacherous wiles to entrap its victims, to its consummation, by consigning them to endless and hopeless slavery, have been too faithfully delineated to need repetition here. But, supposing every one to concur in the propriety of its suppression, we assert, without hesitation, that colonization upon the coast of Africa, affords the only prospect of success in this benevolent enterprise. This trade, which has been confirmed by the practice of centuries, and is supported by its ministering to so many powerful passions of our nature, is not to be put down by force, so long as a place can be found for the supply or reception of slaves. In vain may the governments of distant nations proscribe it by their treaties, or declare it piracy by their laws. In vain may they line Africa with their ships, and establish 'mixed commissions,' for the trial and punishment of offenders. Rapacity and avarice will still find means to elude the vigilance, or baffle the efforts of benevolence; and the friends of humanity must mourn over the inefficacy of their exertions. This is the lesson of experience on the subject, when, after years of unavailing effort, the evil rages with unabated violence.

In this state of affairs, we look on colonization as the only expedient by which the object may be effected. Its operation is two-fold—*direct*—by occupying the coast, and so cutting off access to the source of the polluted stream; and *indirect*, by convincing the natives of the criminal nature of the trade, and turning their attention to other means of gain. The plan adopted by the regular slave traders for obtaining their cargoes, is, to have agents, residing at different parts of the country, who procure the required number of slaves, and collect them at certain stations or factories, generally in some river or secluded inlet from the sea; in the mean time, the slaver hovers about the coast, avoiding the cruisers stationed there, or shewing an empty vessel when boarded; until she can find a favourable opportunity of running in, taking her living cargo on board, and escaping, perhaps in the course of a single night; so that the utmost vigilance may be evaded. The immediate effect of the occupation of the

coast, in destroying this practice, must of course be confined to the space within the jurisdiction of the colony : and so far as this extends, its salutary operation is already sensible.— Not many years ago, there were several of these slave stations within a few miles of Cape Montserado ; at which the trade was actively prosecuted ; but since the establishment of the colony, they have been completely broken up. Every exertion for this purpose is made by the colonial government ; and, in 1826, they could say ‘the line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, is now under British protection ; and from Cape Mount to Trade Town, (the Liberian coast,) a distance of 120 miles, the slave trade cannot be prosecuted with the least hope of success. Many of the tribes are really disposed to abandon it, and all perceive the hazard with which, in future, it must be attended.’

But the most effectual method of putting an end to this traffic, is by bringing it into discredit among the natives themselves : and this can be effected only by means of a colony. For centuries, these wretched beings have been accustomed to look upon this trade as the only means of securing a supply of foreign articles. Wars have been fomented, and villages depopulated, to furnish its victims ; and they have found it far easier to make their purchases from the strangers, in a way that would at the same time gratify their malignant passions, than by the products of regular industry. Now, in order to draw them off from this detestable occupation, it is necessary to inspire them with an abhorrence of it ; to convince them that their real interest is opposed to it ; and to turn their attention to other means of profitable intercourse with foreigners. Their country is rich in natural productions of every kind ; and but moderate labour is requisite to supply them with the staples of a gainful commerce. But this change cannot be effected without the constant inculcation of better principles ; and a regular market for their produce, such as an extensive settlement among them alone can afford : the reports from the colony encourage the hope that much has already been done in this way ; and still greater results may be expected. Several of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the settlement have expressed their conviction that the slave trade is a ‘*bad business* ;’ and their determination not to engage in it again, if they can avoid it ; and the chiefs have invited the colonists to settle among them, and teach their people the arts of agriculture. All these things have an effect ; but if ever the work be finally accomplished, it must be by the introduction of civilization and true religion into this degraded country.

The obligation to extend the benefits of civilization and religion to heathen countries, is one of those called by moral philosophers, *imperfect*, inasmuch as they can be enforced by

no human authority ; but they are not, on that account, the less valid, or the less binding upon the conscience. They are, however, always addressed to the reason only, and every one must judge for himself how far he is subject to their force. If any country has claims of this kind upon Christendom generally, and our land in particular, it is Africa. Her fields have been laid waste, and her inhabitants brutalized, to feed the market with slaves ; and almost every nation has partaken directly or indirectly in the cruel traffic. Our own country has shared largely in the spoil ; and, though we now regret the part we have had in it, an atonement is still due to injured Africa ; and, if her oppressed children and their descendants are made, through our means, the instruments of her civilization, it will be a late, but glorious recompense for all her sufferings. But Christian benevolence needs no such motives for exertion. It is sufficient if there be a field of action, with the hope of usefulness, to call forth her energies, and none presents a better scene for benevolent operations, than the coast of Africa, through the medium of the colony of Liberia. The character of the natives is represented by travellers, as naturally mild and docile, though their intercourse with foreigners, engaged in the slave trade, has given them some features of savage ferocity. The scattered remains of villages, and marks of former cultivation, bear testimony to their primitive disposition, and prove that they were not always the degraded people they now are. There is reason to believe, that, before the introduction of the slave trade, and its consequent evils, they were a mild and inoffensive race ; and the researches of modern travellers have shewn this to be the character of the tribes beyond the sphere of its baneful influence. The religious notions of these people, are of the grossest kind. With scarcely a glimmering idea of a Supreme Being, and but a faint sense of moral obligation, they are subject to the darkest superstition. They believe in the conflicting influence of an evil and a good principle, and have great confidence in charms, or *fetiches*, prepared by their magicians, and supposed to hold a mysterious influence over their destiny. But there are no settled religious principles, no established forms of worship, to which they have become habituated or attached. There is, therefore, no obstacle of this kind to overcome ; and the introduction of the Christian religion would probably meet with fewer difficulties, than in almost any other uncivilized nation. They readily yield to a new impulse, and, degraded as they are, they manifest a sense of the importance of education. Many of the chiefs have sent their sons to the West Indies, and to England, for instruction ; and, since the establishment of colonies upon their coast, they have been very desirous to obtain for their children admission into the colonial schools.—

Upon such a people, a colony, founded on the principles of that of Liberia, must necessarily have a beneficial influence. They see the colonists living in comfortable habitations, secure from external violence, and enjoying the pleasures of social life; and the superiority of this condition to their own, must be obvious to the dullest comprehension. They see, too, that all this may be attained by a race of men like themselves; and they learn to attribute the difference, not to the colour of their skin, but to its real cause—an improved moral and religious education. In the language of Mr. Clay: ‘Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.’ One great reason why missionary exertions are so often unavailing, is, that the instructor is a stranger to those whom he is sent to teach—unacquainted with their manners and habits—an individual, lost in the surrounding multitude. But here is a whole people, settled among them, teaching them by example, as well as by precept; their own condition, a living testimony to the soundness of the lessons they inculcate. Nor let it be supposed that the civilization of a barbarous people is impracticable. It has often been effected, and always by the operation of extrinsic causes. History furnishes not a single instance of a barbarous people becoming civilized by their own unaided exertions; the first seeds of civilization have always been introduced from abroad. And thus it must be with Africa: if ever that vast continent is to experience the blessings of civilization, it must be through the medium of foreign benevolence. The tendency of the colony to produce these effects may be seen from the following extract from one of Mr. Ashmun’s reports to the Board:—

‘The first effects of the colony, in civilizing and improving the condition of the natives of Africa, are beginning to be realized.

The policy which I have invariable pursued, in all the intercourse of the colony with them, is that of humanity, benevolence, and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them, in the spirit of the parent institution, that one end of our settlement in their country is to *do them good*. We have adopted 60 of their children, and brought them forward as children of the colony—and shewn a tender concern for their happiness, and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct, a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man has been presented to them. They have, for the first time, witnessed the effects of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time appear to be apprized of the fact, that, among

civilized people, there is a good, as well as bad class. They have learnt from this colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality—their accountability to the God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits, at last, the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learnt, and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded—it is increasing—it is more extensive than I dare, at this early period risk my character by asserting. We have their confidence and their friendship—and those built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other.’

It is with unfeigned regret, that we record the death of a man to whom the colony is so deeply indebted ; and the last seven years of whose life were unreservedly devoted to the promotion of its prosperity. Arriving at the colony at one of its gloomiest periods, he found it deserted by its protectors, destitute of provisions, and exposed to an immediate attack of hostile savages—apparently without the means of effectual resistance. In this situation he did not hesitate to assume the post of responsibility and danger : and though suffering under a disease which he expected would be fatal ; and afflicted by the loss of his wife, who died soon after his arrival ; he exerted himself so ably and indefatigably, that the preservation of the settlement from immediate and entire destruction, must, under Providence, be attributed to him. From that time, until obliged by the state of his health, to leave the country, he faithfully, and unremittingly devoted himself to the welfare of the emigrants. The whole management of the colony was committed to him, and he proved himself worthy of the trust. In every department, he manifested talents of no ordinary kind. Firmness, justice, and benevolence were the characteristics of his government of the colonists, and his policy toward the natives : and his reports breathe a fervent piety, and reliance on the Divine blessing ; giving energy to his exertions, and inspiring him with a confidence of their success. After suffering a long time from the dropsy, he left Cape Mesurado, in March, 1828, amidst the tears of the colonists, who were sincerely attached to him, and consoled themselves for his absence, only by the hope of his speedy return. But their hopes have been disappointed. His disease increased so much that he was obliged to stop for some time, at St. Barts, to recruit his strength ; and when he resumed his voyage, it was only to reach his native country, and die. He expired on the 25th Aug. 1828, at New Haven, Connecticut, still warmly interested in the prosperity of the colony ; and, with his latest breath, giving directions for its

future management. Our best wish for Liberia, is, that his mantle may fall upon his successor.

Dr. Richard Randall, of the City of Washington, appointed by the Board to succeed Mr. Ashmun, and also commissioned by the President, as U. States' Agent, to take charge of recaptured Africans, sailed, last month, in the U. States' schooner Shark, to assume the station of resident Colonial Agent.*

We have thus attempted to sketch the history of the Colonization Society, and given a general idea of its objects and effects. These require only to be known to be approved; and however people may differ as to the practicability of the plan, all must join in admiring the principles on which it is founded. One thing seems very certain: that the evil of a coloured population is constantly increasing, and that if ever it is to be removed, or even checked in its progress, it must be by means of colonization. As to Africa itself, there is strong ground for the hope, that, if the present colony be persevered in, the blessings of religion and civilization may be introduced there, without the extermination of the natives, as in the case of the aborigines of this country. The cases are very different. The European settlers of this country were a race wholly different from the natives, in constitution and complexion, as well as in language and manners. They could never amalgamate; and every year has witnessed the diminution of the Indians, before the progress of civilization. Not so in Africa. There the aborigines of the country are of the same race with the new settlers, who are, in fact, merely returning to the land of their fathers; their complexion the same, and their constitution immediately assimilating. The native tribes, (not wandering savages, but already settled in villages,) naturally docile, will soon perceive the importance of the blessings offered to them, and easily adopt the habits, and the manners, with the principles of civilized life.

* The name of Randall is added to the list of martyrs in the cause of African Colonization. After encountering successfully the fever of the climate, he exposed himself prematurely in the discharge of the duties of his office, and brought on a relapse, which terminated his valuable life on the 19th of April, 1829. His name, associated with that of Ashmun, will be embolmed in the affections of the young nation, over whose infant destinies he presided, and go down to distant posterity as the benefactor of a degraded race.

THE END.

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